

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF


Tape Subject Log
 (rev. 10/06)

Conversation No. 670-23/671-1

Date: February 14, 1972
 Time: 4:09 pm - 6:19 pm
 Location: Oval Office

The President met with Andre Malraux, Sophia K. Porson and Henry A. Kissinger.
 [This is a continuation of Conversation No. 670-23; an unknown portion of this meeting was not recorded while the tape was being changed.]

Vietnam

- Withdrawal
- Relevance
 - Chinese power
 - October Revolution

People's Republic of China [PRC] and Japan

- Foreign policy
 - Importance
- Germany
- US policy towards PRC
 - Time limit
- Vietnam
 - PRC activity

Foreign policy

- Japan
- Chinese
- Soviets
- US withdrawal
 - Pacific
- Japan
 - Economic
 - Potential status
 - History
 - Sense of destiny
 - Psyche
 - Nuclear commitment
 - West Germany
 - Defense
 - Nuclear commitment by US
 - Terms of peace

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- PRC
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Japanese concern
- Withdrawal
 - Pacific
 - US
 - Bases
 - Japan
 - USSR
 - Possible threat
 - World peace
 - European alliance
 - Withdrawal of forces
 - Germans
 - USSR
 - Influence with East Germany
 - Options
 - “Balance of Power”
- Future
 - Strength
 - Europe
 - Market
 - US
 - Japan
 - US nuclear defense
 - PRC
 - Potential for safer world
 - US
 - Critics
 - Domestic and abroad
 - World role
 - President's view
 - PRC
 - Chou En-lai
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Non-expansionist power
 - World role
 - US
 - Malraux
 - Anti-Memoirs*
 - World power

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- War
- Peace
- US
 - Responsibility
 - Withdrawal
 - Japan
 - Germany
 - Assistance and possible guarantees
 - Stable world
 - Withdrawal
 - Pacific
- President's view
 - Critics
 - Abroad
 - Isolationist theorists in the US
 - Advice
 - Europe
 - PRC
 - Policy comparison
 - US role
 - Circumstances
 - Pacific
 - Japan
 - Europe
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
 - Possible consequences
- Malraux
 - US
 - Withdrawal
 - World's people
 - Opinion
 - Skepticism
 - Pacific
- Europe
 - Malraux's view
 - US
 - Withdrawal
 - NATO
 - Bilateral Agreement
 - Isolationists
 - Gaullism

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- United Europe
 - Great Britain
 - Similarity to the Balkans
 - Possible difficulties for US
 - Economics
 - Politics
 - Defense
 - Gen. Charles A.J.M de Gaulle
- Britain
- Japan
 - Lack of atomic capabilities
 - West Germany
- West Germany
 - World War II
- Japan
- West Germany and Japan
 - Self-defense
 - Nuclear
 - Sense of destiny
 - Protection by another power
 - World peace
- Asia
 - US withdrawal
 - Prospects
 - Press
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - US world policy
 - John Foster Dulles
- Japan
 - Withdrawal
 - Hesitation
- Asia
 - US
 - World responsibility
 - Importance to USSR

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The President's schedule

- Malraux
 - Dinner
 - Location
 - William P. Rogers
 - Kissinger
 - PRC leaders
 - Appreciation for meeting
 - Dinner
 - Past meetings
 - 1969
 - PRC

Foreign policy

- De Gaulle
 - The President's meeting in 1963
 - Prescience
 - US
 - Policy at that time
 - USSR
 - PRC
 - Relations with USSR and PRC
 - Importance
 - De Gaulle's perspective
 - Kissinger's meeting in 1959

Malraux and Porson left at 5:28 pm.

The President's forthcoming trip to the PRC

- PRC leaders' expectations
 - The President
 - View of history
- Malraux
 - Health
 - Forthcoming dinner
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - The President's age
 - World leadership
 - Age
- John F. Kennedy
 - Mao Tse-tung's possible opinion

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- De Gaulle
- Historical figures
- Bluntness
- Foreign policy
 - Chinese
 - US understanding
 - International situation
 - Unimportance of tactical details
 - Chou En-lai
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - General discussion
 - Vietnam
 - Malraux's views
 - US
 - Withdrawal
 - Japan
 - Europe
 - US world role
 - Domestic critics
 - Lack of understanding
 - PRC
 - Withdrawal

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security]

[Duration: 53s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

-Malraux

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Kissinger
 - Agreement
- Chinese
 - Compared to Soviets
 - History
 - Confucius
 - Philosophy
 - Differences
 - Principles
 - World domination
 - Malraux
 - Soviets
 - Future Presidents
 - USSR compared to PRC
 - Relations with US
 - Balance of power
 - USSR
 - PRC
- Vietnam
 - Conduct of war
 - Consequences
 - Choices
 - Malraux
 - De Gaulle
 - Meeting with the President
 - Statement
 - PRC
- PRC
 - Ambivalence toward US
 - India-Pakistan War
 - US stance
 - Asia
 - US relevance
- Vietnam
 - Kissinger's view
 - Withdrawal
 - History
 - De Gaulle
 - Algeria
 - North Vietnamese
 - Meetings with Kissinger

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
- Impact on domestic opponents
- Sense of urgency
- Importance
 - Prisoners of war [POWs]
- Secret meetings
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Public opinion
 - Points in agreement
- South Vietnamese
 - Structure
 - Non-Communist
- PRC
 - Malraux's view
 - Southeast Asia
 - Domination
 - Numbers
 - Means
 - Subversion culture
 - Communism
- Japan
 - Standard of living
 - Communism
- PRC
 - Competition
- Vietnam
 - Withdrawal
 - PRC
 - Southeast Asia
- PRC
 - Malraux's statement about foreign policy
 - Posture
 - Reception for President of Somalia
 - Kissinger's concern
 - Counterweight to USSR
 - Subcontinent
 - Global policy
 - Domination
- USSR and PRC
 - Japan

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- US relations
 - Importance of maintaining alliance
- Malraux
 - Experience and age
 - Cambodia
 - Prison
 - US invitation
 - President's questions to Malraux
 - Chou En-lai
 - The President's forthcoming questions
 - Tone
- US
 - World role
 - Withdrawal
 - Formosa [Taiwan, Republic of China]
 - PRC
 - Communiqué
- PRS
 - John B. Connally and Rogers
 - Lack of experience with leaders
 - Connally
 - Talk with Kissinger

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 5:28 pm.

Location of a briefing book

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

[National Security]

[Duration: 44s]

PRC

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 3

- Communiqué
 - Language
 - Agreement
 - Formosa
 - Possible criticisms
 - James L. Buckley
 - William F. Buckley, Jr.
 - South Korea and Japan
 - Treaty commitments
 - Formosa
 - Separate section
 - Formosa
 - Treaty
 - Rogers
 - Connally
 - Involvement
 - Rogers
 - Connally
 - Europeans
 - Chinese
 - Kissinger's view
 - Foreign relations
 - Desire to maintain a peaceful settlement
 - Language
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Formosa
 - Re-write
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - First draft
- PRC commitment
 - Force in lieu of a settlement
 - Formosa
 - Treaty
 - US Commitment
 - Difficulties
- Mao Tse-tung
- Talk with Kissinger
- State Department
 - Language
 - South Korea
- State Department
- The President's meetings
 - Construction of communiqué
 - Difficulties
 - Chou En-lai
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Chou En-lai
 - Message from Kissinger
 - Meeting
 - Plenary session
 - Workout strategy
 - Chou En-lai
 - Chou En-lai
 - President's upcoming meeting
 - Mao Tse-tung
- Rogers
 - Kissinger's possible explanation
- Bermuda
 - Sir Burke Trend
 - Kissinger
 - Rogers
- France
- Germans
- Established practices
- Trip
 - Need for success

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Tape Subject Log

(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Communiqué
- News magazines
 - Foreign policy
 - Renunciation of forces
 - Establishment of common principles
 - Conduct
 - Opposition to hegemony in Pacific
- Possible interpretation
 - Danger
 - Sino-US alliance
 - USSR
 - Japan
 - Rogers
 - Kissinger's view

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 5:28 pm.

Refreshments

The President left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

Sanchez

- The President
 - PRC trip
 - Attendance
- Schedule
 - Key Biscayne

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

[Privacy]

[Duration: 26s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 4

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

The President entered at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:00 pm.

PRC

- Communiqué
 - Changes
 - Indian section
- Language
 - Use of "revolution"
- Taiwan
 - Possible acceptance
- Kissinger
 - Talk with Chou En-lai
- Mao Tse-tung
 - Talk with the President
 - US domestic debate
 - Bureaucracy
 - Rogers
- Chou En-lai
 - Promises by Kissinger
- Suggested response
 - Language
 - Trade

Malraux

- Stature in France
- Gaullism
- Europe
 - Balkanization
- Neutral
 - Finland

PRC

- Plenary session
 - Kissinger
 - Draft
 - Opening statement

John N. Mitchell

- Resignation

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Timing
- Involvement

Connally
-Praise from Kissinger

Rose Mary Woods entered at 6:00 pm.

- Letter
 - Mitchell
 - The President's reply
 - Copy
 - Delivery
 - Timing

Woods left at 6:01 pm.

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:01 pm.

- Porson
 - Translation skills
 - Malraux dinner
 - Possible invitation
 - Unknown male translator
 - Porson compared to Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters
 - Understanding
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - The President's preference for male translators
 - Walters
 - The President's appreciation for efforts
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:19 pm.

- PRC
 - Trip
 - Importance
 - Need to avoid irritations to the President
 - Rigors of agenda
 - Chinese
 - Qualities

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Soviets
 - Comparisons
- Possible posture by the President

Vietnamese negotiations

- Paris trip by Kissinger
 - Knowledge
 - Haldeman
 - Haig
 - State Department
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Le Duc Tho
 - Press
 - Departure
 - Andrews Air Force Base
 - The President
 - Florida
 - Walker's Key
 - Strategy
 - Helicopter flight from Key Biscayne
 - Strategy
 - Return flight to Andrews AFB
 - Camp David
 - Helicopter to base
 - Departure with the President
 - Timing
 - Peace proposal
 - Reaction by Edmund S. Muskie
 - Reaction by North Vietnam
 - Le Duc Tho
 - Meeting with Kissinger
 - Lunch
 - Answer to invitation
 - Timing
 - Text
 - Walters
 - Lunch
 - Date
 - Walters
 - North Vietnamese
 - Meal

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Significance
- Communists
 - Negotiations
 - Korean War
 - The President's actions
 - Vietnam as national issue
 - Troop withdrawals
 - North Vietnamese
 - Offensive
 - PRC trip
 - Effect
 - Public opinion
 - Tet
 - 1968
 - Differences
 - PRC trip
 - Publicity
 - Moscow trip
 - North Vietnamese
 - Pressure on the President
 - Possible offensive
 - Timing
 - Moscow
 - US position
 - Force
 - Pacific Ocean
 - India-Pakistan War
 - Carriers
 - Bay of Bengal
 - USSR
 - PRC
 - East Pakistan
 - West Pakistan
 - PRC policy
 - Soviets
 - Leonid I. Brezhnev
 - The President's letter
 - Chou En-lai
 - The President's letter
 - Bombing
 - Movement of forces

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

- Policy
- North Vietnamese
 - Offers
 - US options
 - Communists
 - Maoists
 - Peace conference
 - Versailles
- Chinese
 - Encouragement prior to trip
- Peking
- Chinese
- Paris trip by Kissinger
 - Chou En-lai
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
 - Kissinger's forthcoming talk
 - Moscow
- Peking
- War
 - North Vietnamese casualties
 - Italian journalists
 - Number
 - Compared to US population
 - North Vietnamese
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Number of forces
 - US withdrawal
 - Possible date
 - Possible North Vietnamese offensive
 - October 1972
 - US public reaction
 - Withdrawal of troops
 - Weather
 - South Vietnamese
 - Strength

Butterfield entered at an unknown time after 6:01 pm.

Delivery of briefing book

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Conv. No. 670-23/671-1 (cont.)

Butterfield left at an unknown time before 6:19 pm.

Vietnam

-US plans

Malraux

-Dinner

-Talking

-Guest list

-Toast

-Kissinger

-The President

-Speech

-Length

Kissinger left at 6:19 pm.

Conversation No. 671-2

Date: February 14, 1972

Time: Unknown between 6:19 pm and 6:30 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

The President's schedule

-Request for a delivery

[George H. Gallup] poll

-Timing

-Results

-Compared to Administration [Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]] poll

-Vietnam

-Donald H. Rumsfeld

-Telephone call to Gallup

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Tape Subject Log
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Conversation No. 671-3

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 6:19 pm and 6:30 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule
-Manolo Sanchez
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman

Bull left at 6:30 pm.

Conversation No. 671-4

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: 6:30 pm - 7:08 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez and H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Briefcase

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 6:33 pm.

Donald H. Rumsfeld
-Talk with George H. Gallup
-Poll
-Release
-People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
-Timing
-Outcome
-Ronald L. Ziegler
-Tricia Nixon Cox
-Eugene V. Risher

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Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 6:30 pm.

Henry A. Kissinger
-Summons to the Oval Office

Bull left at an unknown time before 6:33 pm.

Risher
-Speech
 -Harvard Lincoln's Inn Club
 -Edward R.F. Cox
 -Conservative views
 -Tricia Nixon Cox
-Press
 -Bias concerning the President
-Ziegler
-Columns
 -Backing off statements
-Frank Cormier
-Helen Thomas

Kissinger entered at 6:33 pm.

PRC
-Haldeman
-Rumsfeld
 -Gallup
 -School
 -Weekly poll on February 4-6, 1972
 -Presidential approval
 -Percentage
 -Release
 -Previous polls
 -Timing
 -PRC trip
 -Positive percentage
-Louis R. Harris
-War
-Poll
 -Percentage
 -Improvement

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Release
- Timing
- Polls
 - North Vietnamese
 - Chinese
 - Poll watching
 - Trip
 - July 1971
 - North Vietnamese
 - Effect
 - Gallup's view
- Democrats
 - Release
- Vietnam
 - The President's Vietnam peace proposal speech, January 25, 1972
 - Effect
 - Administration [Opinion Research Corporation [ORC]] polls
 - Compared to Gallup polls
 - Telephone
 - Percentages
 - Effect
 - Haldeman's *Today* Show interview, February 7, 1972
 - Haldeman
 - Letters
 - Wires
 - Letters
 - “Silent Majority”
 - Comments from citizens
 - John Birch Society
 - Charles S. Rhyne
 - Comments
 - Defense against libel, slander
 - President's position
 - Distortion
 - North Vietnamese
 - The President's speech
 - Haldeman
 - The President's press conference, February 10, 1972
 - Effect
 - William P. Rogers

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- The press
 - Defense
- Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
- Military
- US public support
- Congress
- Media
- Cabinet

- PRC trip
 - Rogers
 - Meetings
 - Rogers' assistance
 - Communiqué
 - History
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Rogers
 - Formosa [Taiwan, Republic of China]
 - Cultural
 - Trade
 - State Department
 - Possible public impressions
 - Chou En-lai
 - Mao Tse-tung
 - Kissinger
 - Prior trip
 - Rogers
 - Cultural agreement
 - Hugh S. Sidey
 - Story on Kissinger in *Life*
 - The President's actions
 - Technical arrangements
 - Perusal of statements
 - Kissinger
 - Previous visit to PRC
 - Meetings with the President
 - Vietnam
 - PRC
 - President's meetings with Kissinger
 - Press
 - The President's knowledge of events

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Relationship with staff, Cabinet
 - Compared to Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles
 - State Department
- State Department
 - Foreign policy
 - Claims
 - Credibility
 - India- Pakistan War
- China policy
 - Chinese
 - Need for US support
 - Andre Malraux
 - Economic aid
 - Economics
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - President's analysis to the Chinese
- Agenda
 - Kissinger talking paper
 - USSR
 - PRC
 - Chou En-lai
 - Meeting with President
 - World situation
 - Quick review
 - Taiwan
 - 5 Points
 - Vietnam
 - Communiqué
 - Treaty commitments
 - World situation
 - USSR
 - India
 - Southeast Asia
 - US position
 - Self interest
 - Kissinger
 - Protocol
 - Translator
 - Length of comments
 - Recommended length

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Mao Tse-tung
- Opening plenary statement
 - Reading by the President
 - Importance
 - Chou En-lai
 - Notes
 - Analysis
- Kissinger's meeting with North Vietnamese
 - Reparation
- Speaking
 - Formality
 - Order
- Plenary session
 - Topics
 - List
 - Kissinger setup
 - Previous visit
 - Kissinger's opinion
- Polls
 - Rumsfeld
 - Gallup
 - Return call
 - Release
 - National interest
 - Trip to USSR
 - World history
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Impact of PRC trip
 - 1971
 - Press coverage
 - Haldeman's trip to Doubleday book store
 - Books on PRC
 - Gallup
 - Timing
 - Haldeman interview
 - Press conference
- Vietnam
 - Polls
 - South Vietnam
 - Bombing

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Possible public opinion
- North Vietnam
 - Bombing
 - Press
 - Escalation of war
 - Perception
- South Vietnam
- North Vietnam
 - Offensive
 - Expectation of public and press
 - Bombing
 - Timing
 - Kissinger's reply to note
 - PRC trip
 - US arrival
 - Impact
 - North Vietnam targets
 - Pleiku, Kontum
 - Forbidden City
 - Television
 - Chinese
 - Chou En-lai
- PRC trip
 - Interpreters
 - Record
 - Possible number
 - State Department
 - Rogers
 - Record
 - Summaries
 - Previous meetings
 - Translator
 - Chinese
 - State Department
 - President's request
 - Official record
 - English
 - US note taker
 - Winston Lord
 - Prior experience

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF**Tape Subject Log***(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- American translator
- Kissinger's staff
 - John H. Holdridge
 - Knowledge of Chinese language
 - Check on Chinese translation
- Lord
- Holdridge
 - Skills
- Chinese
 - Six translators
- US
 - Four translators
- Holdridge
 - Knowledge of Chinese
 - Previous meetings
- State Department
 - Plenary session
 - Rogers
- Holdridge
 - Listening
 - Notes
- Nikita S. Khrushchev
 - Misinterpretation
 - Language
 - State Department
- Holdridge
 - Reliability
- Lord
 - Notes
- Holdridge
 - Role
 - Nuances
- Lord
 - Concentration on words
- Rogers
 - Record
 - Memoranda of conversations
 - “Big picture”
- Holdridge
 - Chinese
 - Previous meetings

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Tape Subject Log*(rev. 10/06)*

Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Chinese
 - Success
 - India-Pakistan War
 - Reception
 - Cameras
 - Square
 - Motorcade
 - PRC procedure
 - Formal reception
- Crowds
 - Kissinger's view
 - The President
 - Shanghai and Hangchow
- Communiqué
 - Chou En-lai
 - Timing
 - Peking
 - Shanghai
 - Communications ground station
- Coverage
 - Film
- Communiqué
 - Peking
 - Tour
 - Longest visit to foreign country by President on official visit
 - [Thomas] Woodrow Wilson
 - Paris
 - Conference [Treaty of Versailles]
- Talks
- Trip
 - Toast
 - The President
 - Reading
 - Importance
 - Khrushchev
 - Television
 - Chou En-lai
 - Possible lighting problem
 - Khrushchev
 - 1959
 - Length

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Conv. No. 671-4 (cont.)

- Khrushchev
- Tone
 - Chou En-lai
- Advance text
 - Kissinger previous visit
 - Chou En-lai
 - Timing
 - The President's view
 - Television audience
- Length
- Chou En-lai's toast to Kissinger

The President, Haldeman, and Kissinger left at 7:08 pm.

Conversation No. 671-5

Date: February 14, 1972
Time: Unknown between 7:09 pm and 11: 59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people [Secret Service agents] met.

The President's location
-Residence

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time after 7:08 pm.

[Conversation No. 671-5A]

[Unintelligible]

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.